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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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Not quite so many rites were practiced in honor of first-born girls, who were betrothed in childhood. Trees were planted for them and there was a family rite in which their hands were purified for making *popoi*. The rite of piercing the ears for earrings was an important one, as was also that upon the occasion of the first menstruation. The girl was tattooed much younger than the boy, about the time of adolescence. Girls who had sufficient intellect were instructed in lore just as boys were, except that they were not taught certain chants restricted to men. In honor of the girl a festival or festivals were given at which songs composed for her were sung. And lastly, she was honored, probably for the last time while living, at her marriage festival. If she were a tribal chiefess, there were subsequent festivals in her honor. A husband sometimes gave a feast in honor of his wife, a son in honor of his mother. At death, and afterwards, women's spirits seem to have been honored equally with men's.

The Fa'e Kaha Rite

The rites surrounding the birth of the other children were the same as those for the first-born, save the rite called *fa'e kaha* or *ahu ana* (heaping up), which was for the first-born only, never for an adopted child, and was performed after the mother had recovered. All the mother's brothers went at night to a spring in the mountains with *hue* (vessels). (At Atu Ona, according to another informant, the water was procured from a place near the sea shore, where the fresh and sea waters mingled.) When they came to the water, they recited a special chant (or spell) that had been composed for the occasion. Water from the spring was brought back in the vessels. The child was placed on the heads of the mother's brothers and the father's sisters, who leaned over with the crowns of their heads close together. While he rested there, he was bathed with the water by his grandfather. While the bathing was being performed, a ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* chanted. (What chant it was is unknown, though it was probably the *pu'e.)* A hole was then made in the thatch of the father's sleeping house just above the door, and through this the paternal uncles and maternal aunts passed the child to the parents within. Until the child had been weaned or until its special house, which will be described below, had been completed, the child must always go into and out of the house through this hole.

In the following notes regarding ceremonial practices connected with first-born sons *(tama haka-iki)* and daughters *(mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu)* from the Dordillon MS., parts of the same rite are evidently described. The child of a chief, until it had been consecrated, must never enter the dwelling house by way of the door. A hole was made in the thatch above the door

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to their sacred first-born and, secondly, on the practical idea of preventing parents from taking personal advantage of what belonged to or was in honor of their child. Parents could never partake of food that had been presented to their child. This feast called *hakahe'e* was given by the *pahupahu* in honor of their *i'amutu* (nephew or niece).

On Nuku Hiva a rite called *kohihika*, evidently corresponding to this was described to me. It was performed for the first-born sons of chiefs only. When the child was about two years old, he was carried to the tribal *me'ae* on the shoulders of a priest. This was called *hakahe'e*. Before he went, offerings of cloth were presented to him at his house, and the dwelling was ornamented with white and red cloth.

The following bit from the Dordillon MS. (9) appears to be descriptive of the rite of *hakahe'e*. As a preliminary the child was confined to the house for forty days and was anointed, the object being to whiten his skin. Before this, the child's first fete, he was bathed and dressed in his finery, and girded with a loin-cloth of great length; whereupon he was borne to the feast place on the shoulders of a man, others walking under the ends of the loin cloth. At the feast place the boy was placed on a stone, and a dance was performed around him by young dancers stained with yellow *ena*. When the rite was finished, the long loin-cloth was taken off, and a small one was put on in its place. The child then returned home on foot.

There was a similar rite for girls in which the girl child of the chief *(mo'i ha'atepeiu)* was dressed in finery, taken to the feast place, and there seated on a large stone covered with a sheet of white tapa. At the same time many mothers in the tribe brought their daughters and exhibited them. At such a feast there was singing of the chants called *uta* and *komumu*.

Rites of Adolescence

For boys there seem to have been no rites at the time of the appearance of manhood. It was said of this change *"Ua tihe te matua:* (manhood comes)"—*matua* is a term of general application for a virile man, fine fellow, manhood; *ua tihe*, signifies has arrived.

When a girl arrived at womanhood it was said, *"Ua tihe te toto* (blood) or *te ma'ui* (womanhood). At this time the following rite, called the *ko'ina putoto*, was performed for the first-born girl only. All the family came to the house. The girl was first placed on the heads of the *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). A pig was then placed on the heads of the *pahupahu*, who leaned over with their heads together. The pig was then cut up and was eaten by the *pahupahu*. Other food was now brought, and all feasted except the girl's father, mother, and brothers,

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who could not partake of the food, though the girl and his sisters might eat.

The *tapu* of the menstrual fluid would appear to be transferred to the pig's flesh, through the medium of the sacred heads of the *pahupahu*. These relatives then ate the flesh sacramentally, thus absorbing this influence and identifying themselves with it, in order to insulate, as it were their *i'amutu* against any evil that might come through this influence.

On Nuku Hiva it was said that there were certain *tapu* places where girls in general, but particularly daughters of chiefs, were taken at the time of their first menstruation. In these places the first menstrual fluid must be left, special sacred white bark cloth being made and kept there for the girls' use. This occasion was regarded as very sacred for the girl and for the family. An informant at Taiohae said that young chiefesses from that island had to be taken to a certain place on Hiva Oa at this time. According to Père Jean (19) a chiefess on Ua Pou was *tapu* from the time of the first appearance of the menstrual flow until the fête that was celebrated in honor of this occasion and until the ceremonial priest had made the *tahe toto* (cloth to be worn at this time).

The terms used for the operation of cutting the foreskin of boys were *tehe* (cut), *tche te akau*, or *tehe akau (akau*, wood). In Nuku Hiva Movi was the god of this work (4). Skilled operators *(tuhuna tehe)* practiced incision as a profession. For their work they were paid in pigs or other forms of wealth. The operation was performed on boys between the ages of seven and twelve—that is, before puberty. Its performance does not, however, seem to have been directly connected with the time of puberty or the appearance of adolescence.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the incision was always accomplished by means of a bamboo knife. Mr. Linton was told in Pua Ma'u that a knife of bamboo or stone was used. On the other hand I was told in the same valley that anciently a stone knife was always used. Since European contact and at the present time a steel knife or razor has taken the place of the earlier implements.

The operation was performed in a sacred place. The boy was seated on a rock, a small, flat stick was inserted in the foreskin, and the skin, drawn taut across the stick, was then cut longitudinally. The cut was then pulled apart with the fingers to assure its being clear. The stick that had been inserted in the foreskin was given to the boy and being sacred was always kept thereafter by him. The knife with which the operation was performed was usually supplied by and returned to the father of the boy. But if the father did not supply one, the *tuhuna* used one of his own. It seems probable that in the days of *tapu* the knife was always supplied

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was cut, was always given to the boy, who preserved it. The *tuhuna tehe* took some *pu'u moina (pu'u,* fruit; *moina,* an unidentified herb or bush), and squeezed the juice from it into the wound, after which the boy was taken back to his father, who heated a small black boulder in the sun, and wrapped it in *noni* leaves. The member was laid on this and allowed to rest there until the skin became hard. There was no patron deity of *tehe* in Pua Ma'u, nor was there any prayer or chant that accompanied the operation—according to the informant. I cannot but believe that anciently there were such religious features accompanying the work.

After the wound was healed the operation was celebrated with a *ko'ina tuhi ue,* the name of which would indicate that the rite was for the purposes of exhibiting the virile member *(tuhi,* to show; *ue,* the male organ). This rite was performed at the tribal dance place (*taha ko'ina*). The boy was carried [?naked] on the dance floor *(tohua)* on the head of his maternal uncle. Feasting, chanting, and dancing followed.

Tattooing

Since the subject of tattooing *(patu tiki)* has been treated at length elsewhere,[5] only a brief summary description will be given here. Youths were tattooed between the ages of fifteen and twenty. So far as could be ascertained, the tattooing rites were only indirectly connected with adolescence and were undertaken when the tribe was not occupied in harvesting breadfruit. When a man planned to have his oldest son tattooed, he began raising pigs and growing paper mulberry for cloth some time in advance of the beginning of the work. When it was decided to have the operation performed, the youths of the community erected a special sacred house *(oho au patu tiki),* in which the work was to be done. To obtain the materials for this structure, and also food for the tattooers and themselves, they raided the place of the man who was paying for the work, demolishing all his houses except his sleeping house, and taking all the pigs and paper mulberry that he had raised. The food and material for cloth constituted payment to the *ka'ioi* for their work. During the whole time of the operation the inmates of the *tapu* house were all fed by the family of the youth for whom the work was organized. Such rites were undertaken only for first-born sons. Others had to obtain their tattooing as *ka'ioi.* The tattooing house was regarded as belonging to this boy, who was called *opou.* One or more *tuhuna* were employed to put the designs on the boy. When the *opou,* on account of sickness resulting from

[5] Handy, Willowdean C., Tattooing in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bulletin 1, Honolulu, 1922.

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clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious seasons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

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men, from fifteen to twenty. Within these limits fall the more or less definite statements of such early writers as Garcia, Desgraz, and Berchon, Porter interpreting the time as "when they are able to bear the pain." All imply—and Krusenstern (8, p. 155) definitely states—that the beginning of the operation was connected with the period of adolescence. Berchon (1, p. 113) tells us that pregnancy would hinder the success of the work and that it was never undertaken for a woman when she was in that condition, from which we may again infer that the coming of puberty was the time for starting the bodily decoration. There seems at the present time to be no definite connection in the mind of the Marquesan between the two, and the fact that tattooing was practiced during the growing or maturing season of the land just before harvest-time seems also to have no significance at present. However, the celebrations associated with the harvest and with the completion of the tattooing of the adolescent youth of the land were united in a great *ko'ina* or feast. It may be remarked, too, that there is at present no indication that important times in the life of the individual, other than adolescence, were the occasions for tattooing, although Langsdorff, in a description of the *enata* design, says that it was put on when an enemy had been killed or eaten (10, p. xv).

As has been stated, preparations for the tattooing of an *opou* began with the raising of pigs and planting of *ute* for gifts and payment for *tuhuna* and *ka'ioi*. Several days before the beginning of the operation, the father announced that the *oho'au tiki*, or special house for the occasion, was to be built. About one o'clock on the morning on which the erection of this structure was to take place, two great drums (*pahu*) and two small ones (*hutu*) were beaten on the public festival place, to declare the beginning of the *tapu* and to summon the *ka'ioi*. These, usually from forty to eighty in number, immediately gathered at the festival place and together proceeded, under direction of the *tuhuna*, to raid the place of the *opou's* father. They demolished his houses and those of his relatives, with the exception of the sleeping houses; they seized not only material for the building of the *oho'au*, but that for making tapa, or the tapa itself in the event of its already having been made. Enough pigs and other food, sufficient to last for the entire period of the operation, its length depending upon the sickness of the *opou*, were taken for the feeding of the *ka'ioi*, *tuhuna*, and all those who were to stay in the *oho'au*. Not only was the father of the *opou* the victim of this *fao* or seizure of food, but also his father's sisters and even other relatives of the father and mother, if the duration of the operation was extended; and it was these relatives who cooked the food during the entire time.

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868 were instructed in chants and genealogies by the ceremonial priests; during the teaching of the more esoteric lore, both teacher and pupil were under rigid taboos. There was also an informal kind of teaching by the ceremonial priests. The young people would come to a priest in the evening and ask him to teach them a chant. He would ask them which one they wanted; [211] the youngsters would name a chant. The priest would pull out his string record, a series of knots tied in a long cord sometimes woven into a basket shape, the knots representing the stanzas of the chant. Girls and boys learned the chants together in this informal fashion. The boy, about the time he was tattooed, began to study to be a *tuhunga,* ceremonial priest, or a member of whatever profession he chose.

881 A small ceremony was held for girls at the time of their first menstruation. At this time the girls would go to a particular place long associated with the family line, where the ancestral spirits were supposed to come. First menstrual blood had to be buried in a sacred place to prevent loss of vitality in the girl. [304] There was no ceremony for boys at puberty, but at the age of ten or twelve, a superincision was made; that is, the foreskin was split along the top. This was a group operation including all boys who were old enough for it, not necessarily all members of the same gang. In the case of the eldest child of an important family, some slight ceremony attended the operation.

881 Girls were tattooed at about ten or twelve years of age, before 304 they became *kaioi.* Tattooing was not regarded as a puberty rite for either males or females. The Marquesans explained that they did not tattoo until after puberty because the process of growth would spoil the design of the tattooing. The girls were tattooed individually with no special rites, although a daughter of a chief or a rich household might be taken to a sacred place for the process. Women were tattooed from the waist down, and on the arms and hands, with a series of markings above and below the lips, and with a design behind the ear. The breasts, body, and back were left unmarked. A small feast was given after the tattooing of a chief's daughter, at which the girl danced

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on a raised platform in the *tohua* (tribal assembly place) to exhibit her new decorations.

The boys were tattooed in groups, with an eldest son of a chief or rich household acting as sponsor. The father would collect food in preparation for this event, and at a given signal the *kaioi* group to which the boy belonged would raid the father's house, carrying off all the food and occasionally other things, though as a rule the household carefully put away everything except the food. The father also had a special house built for the tattooing of his eldest son.

The tattooer started on the most important victim, tattooing a square foot at a time; before resuming the operation, four or five days were allowed to elapse for the skin to heal. During these days the tattooers worked on the other boys in the group so that they all were completed at about the same time. The extremely painful operation was done with little combs made of bird or human bone set in a handle. The instrument was tapped into the skin with an ironwood mallet, and then the pigment was rubbed on. There was profuse bleeding. The victim was allowed to yell as much as he liked under this operation, in fact he took pride in the noise he made and in the number of other *kaioi* required to hold him quiet so that the tattooer could work accurately.

A tattoo artist took great pride in his skill. No preliminary marks were made on the body to indicate the design. In learning the craft the novice would use bamboo cylinders as pattern boards to give him experience in throwing his curves properly, or he might induce some individual to let him practice on him. He had to pay a small fee for this, for if the work was poor it would be a social disability to the victim later on. The tattooers sang a chant as they worked; it was principally a repetition of the theme, "How beautiful this is going to look, how well I should be paid for such fine work."

The tattooing of the boys was a labor of some weeks, during which time the entire *kaioi* group was fed by the father of the principal boy. When his stores began to run out, the boys were

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fed by their own households. All male tattooing was extraordinarily complete, the entire body, even the eyelids, being covered with intricate patterns. The chief had more elaborate hand tattooing than ordinary men and his toes were decorated, too. There were various markings for the face which were probably of tribal significance. I once saw a man who had the crown of his head beneath his hair tattooed. It was not infrequent to have the mouth tattooed right up to the gums and on the tongue—not to mention more sensitive portions of the anatomy.

The first tattooing was done in the *kaioi* period, but when a man was about thirty, particularly if he was a great warrior, he would have himself gone over again, at which time all the blank spaces in the design were filled in. Tattoo designs came out indigo blue in the young and bluish green in older people so that old men were often completely green. Not to be tattooed was to be indecently naked.

When the tattooing was completed a feast was held at which the newly tattooed boys exhibited their decorations. The girls attended this ceremony also, and at the close of the festivities put on their own dance. Instead of dancing naked as usual, they wore for this occasion full pleated skirts, which they lifted during the final song to expose their genitals. However, all sexual play was prohibited at these feasts, the girl's gesture merely indicating that the end of the *kaioi* period had come and that it was now time for the young men to choose mates and settle down.

Girls were instructed in sexual matters from an early age, trained to swing their hips and walk in a provocative way, and to assume postural attitudes which were highly charged with sex. There was extreme development of erotic technique, both sexes taking genuine pride in their erotic skills, which they discussed without reservation. It was taken for granted that almost any chance meeting between young persons of opposite sexes would, unless they happened to be siblings, result in intercourse. The girls began their dances completely attired but finished in complete nudity, with the expected results. At the close of the feasts, particularly when visitors were present, there

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of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the 603
vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in [856]
techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual
behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of 515
bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to [183]
body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large num- 302
ber of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise.
Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented
with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers them- [824]
selves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e
(Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower
of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used
for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume
and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's
solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such [439]
quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the
hair.

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for 515
Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on
both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid
to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the
extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has
rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness
usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude
toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota --
your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious [578]
affront when uttered in anger.

For girls, constant bathing and the application of [856]
vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are
emphasized.

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circum- 881 ●
cision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and
14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal
hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid,
as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating
circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as
a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

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Each boy keeps the sliver of bamboo over which the foreskin was stretched for the incision. Should the slip be lost or be stolen by another and be thrown into mud or a stream, early impotency will result for the original owner of the slip. [833] The slip should be carefully buried upright in dry ground in an area where many women will walk over it. Obviously, as one informant stated, the best place to "bury the bamboo" is in the churchyard where all the girls congregate several times weekly. A boy knows when a girl has been standing [831] above his bamboo, for an erection follows particularly quickly upon the sight of that girl. According to an informant, the churchyard in one of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva is filled with buried bamboo slips of the last several generations, all [797] placed without missionary knowledge.

At present, after a boy has been circumcised, he may 836 be considered to possess the social seal of approval to begin 881 ● heterosexual activities in /29/ earnest. It is considered to 884 be a rather unbecoming precocity for boys to have intercourse before circumcision, although many of the late adolescent males will attempt to convince the outsider that they have done so.

There appears to be a great deal of anxiety among male 152 children regarding circumcision. Adults will often threaten 861 very young male children who are badly behaved by brandishing one of the ever-present butchering knives and gesturing toward the child's genitalia with the statement: "'Ena 'e kokoti 'au 'i to'o e moa!" (I'm going to hack your penis!) This threat usually produces striking results: the child seizes his genitalia bending over forward to protect them and backs away, at the point of tears if not actually screaming. A knife which I always carried was often mentioned as "the [123] white man's knife for circumcising children," which drew me involuntarily into the situation.

Girls generally begin their heterosexual relations much 836 earlier than do the boys in the Marquesas. Their relatively earlier sexual maturation and the fact that puberty for them is not marked by an obstacle such as circumcision makes their

/29 cont./ 836
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note- [145]
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881] ●
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional coloring attached to circumcision for the male, however. First intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [797]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty. Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more frequent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion. Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this [513]
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the house, with younger children or with the parents close by; forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic. The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 515
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 173
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [182]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [747]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/94 cont./

ultimately produce a sexually pleasing adolescent girl. The use of cosmetics also appears to be a surviving remnant of an aboriginal girl's ceremony of which relatively little is known today. This lacuna in Marquesan ethnography is largely due to missionary efforts which were concentrated on stamping out all of the more outstanding and orgiastic ceremonies in the Marquesan native culture. Some information was obtained on ceremonies which were related in some way to puberty from informants on Nuku Hiva, in Hatiheu and Taipivai, two valleys which were formerly united in the historic period, at least, as a single tribe -- the Taipi.

/95/ According to informants, adolescent girls were kept at home and subjected to special treatment with the vaginal cosmetics described above, as well as a preparation for lightening skin color, made from the vine papa. Some tattooing may have been performed on girls of higher rank at this time. When the appropriate time arrived, the girls would be taken to the subtribal ceremonial center (tohua or koika) where they participated in ceremonies in which they exhibited themselves, their tattoo if any and submitted to a genital inspection. For the genital inspection they stood upon flat-topped boulders that were ranged along the sides of the rectangular ceremonial plazas. These boulders were called ke'a vehine po'otu or ke'a vehine haka (beautiful girl stone or dancing girl stone, respectively). These boulders are to be found on nearly every ceremonial plaza on Nuku Hiva. Although it is certain that they served other purposes beside genital inspection alone, this purpose seems to have loomed sufficiently large, hence the name attached.

In the genital inspection, if the labiae and mucus membrane lining of the vulva were pale and the pubic hair pliant and short, the girl was acceptable by Marquesan aesthetic standards. If, however, the labiae and membranes were of a ruddy color, then the girl was subjected to considerable derision; being insulted with the appellation of to'e, pa'a, ke hika -- "clitoris (like a) ripe anona squamosa."

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that it had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony reported by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/99 cont./ 175 648 864
heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. 833 881 178 834 [183]

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from 114 883 571